2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

while relations of a personal kind and kinship links between individuals run across their common frontiers and are compelled to do so by the exogamous rules obtaining in Luo society.

Several of the clans and maximal lineages possess sacred spears and other objects believed to have belonged to their founders. The best known sacred spear (*tong ma lisua*, spear of sacrifice) is the *tong* Alego, the spear of Alego, the founder of the JoAlego clan. In Ugenya the JokaGer clan have several such spears and there are others in possession of the lineages descended from Cuanya to the south of the gulf. Where there are important stranger lineages in a tribe they may also have their sacred objects, e.g. in Alego the KaLuo and the JokOgelo have sacred spears and the JoAgoro have a sacred stone and a sacred pot handed down from their founders. These objects are symbols of the unity of a clan or lineage and, by extension, of the tribe or tribal segment in which it is dominant, and they were used ritually in time of war or of common calamity, such as drought and invasion by locusts. They seem generally, if not always to be held by the senior line (*dho ot ma duong*) of a lineage or clan and are kept either in a granary or in hiding in the bush. The senior line is often called on by junior collateral lines to perform important sacrifices for them and the senior lineage ought to provide the sacrificial beast at ceremonies common to all the lineages. I was told also that while each lineage had its *won gweng*, 'father of the land' the *won gweng* of the senior lineage had chief prestige among them.

Some clans and lineages have certain ritual prohibitions (*kwer*), mostly on certain foods, particularly kidneys and liver. The Luo do not give the impression of attaching much importance to them and if a man and a woman observe the same taboo it is not in itself a bar to marriage. Reference must also be made to clan and lineage honorific, or praise, names. The *nying paak* is generally derived from the name of a paternal ancestor whose name is a lineage cognomen, e.g. Okwiri (see the chart of the JoOwila clan) can be called, according to the circumstances, *wud* (son of) KoOkelo, *wud* KaJeje, and *wud* Owila. These names are much used at communal gatherings, expecially at large beer parties.

A feature of clanship which would seem to be of some importance is the annual inter-lineage wrestling. Unfortunately, I only became aware of these shortly before I left Luoland and had afterwards no further opportunity to enquire further into the custom, or to discover whether it is practised all over Luoland or only in some tribal areas, such as U-yoma where the closely related collateral lineages wrestle for practice prior to the wrestling matches between the big lineages. Thus the Ko-Okwiri are matched against the KoObong, then these two lineages together against the KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, and so on. The lineages send a messenger to challenge the other party and when they meet an elder presides over the joint bouts and the exhibition matches between famous wrestlers on each side. The matches are said to occasion much excitement among the spectators.

The sketch given above of the Luo clan is only an outline delineating feature of it. A little detail is filled in here and there in the following

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Ordeals.—They have a form of ordeal called Kiviri; a small pot of water is taken and a little *wimbi* flour and a bit of the medicine are put into the water; if the mixture boils over the man is guilty, and *vice versâ*. 695

Another ordeal is as follows: a piece of calabash open at both ends is placed on a stone in a bowl of water (Fig. 12). Water is ladled up from the bowl and poured into the calabash, and normally it immediately runs out where the calabash rests on the stone; the medicine man however puts some medicine into the water, and if the man is guilty the water no longer runs out at the bottom of the calabash, and eventually the water runs over the top. I have seen this performed and found that it was the medicine that enabled the calabash to be filled; this medicine was the crushed up leaves of a kind of mimosa, and being of a fibrous nature it stopped up the points of leakage between the calabash and the stone. There is another trial by ordeal: some dry flour is given to the suspected person, if innocent he can swallow it, and *vice versâ*.

FIG. 12.—THE ORDEAL OF THE CALABASH, OFTEN USED FOR THE DETECTION OF THIEVES, ETC.

Omens.—If the omen bird cries out on the left side of the road it is bad if the journey is for war, but if the journey is a mere visit the person will get food. If the bird cries out on the right side it is good for war but bad for visiting. If a cat crosses the road from right to left it is a good omen, if *vice versâ* it is bad. If you see a rat on the road and it runs in front of you it is a good, but if it crosses the road it is an inauspicious sign. 787

In some clans it is lucky for the first child to be female and in others it is *vice versâ*. [777]

If on a journey a man strikes his little toe on either foot it is a very bad sign, if he strikes the big toe it is propitious. If a man whose eldest child is a boy is travelling and the first person he meets is a man it is a good sign, but if a woman it is bad, and *vice versâ* if his eldest child is a girl.

They profess to be able to tell whether a man will be killed on an expedition or not by examining the entrails of an ox or sheep. Some even say that in this way a skilled soothsayer will prophesy future events; for instance, he will perhaps say that in so many days news of fighting will arrive, or that a certain disease will appear, or that in say three days a white cow will arrive at the village.

The head chief of each tribe decides when the people are to plant their crops, [241] and some chiefs are said to be able to foretell whether the harvest will be good or bad. The chief Odera is said to have prophesied the advent of European rule when he was quite young. They go to the Nyole rainmaker Mgahanya for rain, and also went to his father Ligiri.

Names.—Many names of men and women are the same, others again only differ in the first letter; for instance, Apio is generally a female name and Opio a male name. 551

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

They suffer not infrequently from pneumonia and other affections of the lungs, and their remedy for these maladies is to pierce a hole in the chest, and even to cut out a small piece of the inflamed lung. They have an antidote for snake poison; *remedies* for diarrhœa, constipation, ulcers; salves for wounds; and even drugs which are taken to avert threatened miscarriage. Venereal disease is practically unknown amongst this people, which, although so indifferent to nudity, is yet too moral to permit sexual intercourse with strangers.

Men and women have the same names. But in many instances,

436. THE GAME OF "BAO," PLAYED ALL OVER EAST CENTRAL AFRICA. (THE PLAYERS HERE ARE YAO SOLDIERS FROM BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA)

whereas the root of the name is the same, it is preceded by the vowel "O" in the case of a man, and "A" in the case of a woman. For instance, "Opio" is a male name, and "Apio" is a female name.

The games they play are few. There is the well-nigh universal game of little compartments in which seeds or pebbles are put. Boys and young men sometimes play a kind of hockey, knocking about a wooden ball.

After the return from a warlike expedition two out of every three cattle go to the chief, who divides his share with his brothers, and also gives a special reward of cattle to any man who has particularly distinguished himself in war. To this hero a wife is often given for payment.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

583 584 chicken, some *mtama*[1] and some native beer. He goes away again, having had no intercourse with his intended, and returns in a few days' time and goes through the form of carrying her off; she stops at his village for some days and the important rite of cooking the first dinner for him is gone through; this may be taken to intimate that she accepts him as her husband. She then goes home and the husband pays a portion of the dowry; he comes again and carries her away and pays another portion, and so on, till the dowry is paid off and the bargain is ratified. Should the woman prove childless, or if she dies shortly after the marriage, the dowry can be reclaimed by the husband, though it is more usual for her sister to take her place. Should she, at the time of marriage, be possessed of children, legitimate or otherwise, they become her husband's property. The dowry is also recoverable if the woman deserts him for another man.

Children are sometimes contracted for marriage at a very early age, but in such a case, the girl remains with her parents until the age of puberty. The value of the dowry has greatly decreased since the cattle plague of 1883, but is again increasing. Before that date twenty head of cattle, besides goats, grain, etc., was not uncommonly asked and obtained. To-day seven head of cattle is a handsome "dot," and the price has been known to fall as low as one bull and twenty goats, though a heifer and a bull is the usual minimum. The birth of the first child is also an occasion for a feast; frequently, a child is named after the hour at which it was born, *e.g.*, *onyango*, morning; *ochieng*, noon; *odiambo*, afternoon; *otieno*, night. On other occasions some deceased relative appears to the mother in her sleep shortly before birth, and his name is adopted; or, if a child be born posthumously, the father's ghost appears and dictates the name. The Jaluo are very fond of nicknames, which are often passed on to descendants, though their significance is lost; *e.g.*, *obele*—the man who owned much *mtama*; *olieth*—the man who killed an elephant. Other nicknames are given on account of some personal peculiarity; *e.g.*, *obongo*—the man like a locust.

[852] 551

763 764 A funeral, however, is the greatest ceremony of all. While the sick man is dying his relatives howl in chorus round his hut, while the doctors rattle stones in gourds and puff clouds of tobacco smoke around the invalid, their object, undoubtedly, being to drive away the evil spirits. Next day there is a great dance, at which all the deceased's relations and friends turn up; if the dead man is a chief the whole clan is represented. Every man is dressed in full war paint and brings his best bull along with him. For a while they stay in the village lamenting, while the mother or chief wife of the deceased adorns herself with the dead man's goat skin and his tuft of hair, as mentioned above, and then runs round and round the village rattling a gourd and singing incantations. Then the visitors come out, having refreshed the inner man with beer and tobacco, and proceed to charge up and down, hanging on to their bull's tails and pricking the unfortunate beasts to encourage them to go faster. When thoroughly exhausted they collect

[1] Millet.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

diagram, p. 17). It is therefore difficult to give a precise account of the relation between ancestor worship and lineage formation. It is noteworthy, however, that the ritual formula at a sacrifice was not spoken by any particular descendant of the recipient of sacrifice, but by any elders of his lineage present, who repeated it in turn while waiting for the sacrificial bull to urinate or excrete. If it refused to do this it was rejected and another substituted, and it was the elder who was repeating the formula at the moment when the bull urinated or excreted who had to make the sacrifice. The usual formula was *wuoru, luong' wuoru ukiemo*—'our father, call your father and eat'—followed by the bidding of a blessing on the particular matter in hand. In the funeral ritual more emphasis seems to be laid on insulating the living from the ill will of the dead than on securing the status of the latter in the other world. Similarly at any sacrifice, ancestors called to share are bidden to give the blessings for which they are asked on pain of being jeered at and despised. Children may be named, according to the father's judgement, after various circumstances or persons linked with the child's birth or ascertained in dreams. But if the child cries unusually the diviner (*ajuoga*) is called to discover which ancestor is seeking to have the child named after it. In this way the child may be named after its own father or mother, or any other relative, male or female. The same group of names tends to occur frequently in converging lines of ascent, especially those of famous ancestors, which are repeated particularly often, but there is no regular belief in the necessary reincarnation of ancestors in alternate generations.

IV. LINEAGE CONCEPTS

The special terms which the Luo use for lineages show the distinctions which they make between different aspects of the activity of these groups. Frequently all these terms may be applied to the same group on different occasions depending on the context. The most important of these terms are *dhoot*, *gweng'*, *libamba*, and *anyuola*. *Gweng'* and *dhoot* are used of class A segments only, *anyuola* of class B segments only, and *libamba* may be used of either. The use of these terms is always logical when interpreted in relation to the structural position of the speaker, but their etymology does not always seem consistent with this unless it is understood in a symbolic sense. It may be best to give a general account of the usage and etymology of each one, followed by some quotations from informants.

Dhoot (pl. *dhoudi*) is used for all those lineages which are corporate landholding units. They are the lineages already referred to as class A. Some idea of the variations in their size and population is given in the population figures included in Figs. 1 and 2, and the maps (Figs. 3, 4, and 5). They carry general social functions. Each manages its political, jural, economic, ritual, and other affairs through a council of elders representing its major segments and recognizing one of their number as leader. Organized on a territorial basis, they are the units of primary settlement or multiples of them,[1] responsible for the acquisition, apportionment, and use of land. They are the basis of a whole series of corporate group activities ranging from

[1] By settlement I mean simply a defined area of territory, containing the dwellings and all the land resources of a specified social group. The Luo have no villages in the sense of recognized aggregations of dwellings larger than those of the family.

[text continues on p. 27]